

SEMPERARS ARE WARNED BONUS WOULD OVERBURDEN PEOPLE

WADSWORTH FIXES BONUS AS POLITICAL

Shows Congress' Increased Privates' Base Pay 100 Per Cent. in 1917.

GENEROUS IN PURPOSE

New York Senator Also Describes Additional Allowances and Comforts.

BONUS BASIS NOT LAID

Plan of 'Adjusted Compensation' Attacked as Unjust and Illogical.

Special Dispatch to The New York Herald.

The speech of Senator Wadsworth of New York in opposing the McCumber bonus bill this afternoon was as follows:

"As to the pending bill itself, there have been a good many general statements made concerning the veterans of the war, both soldiers and sailors, and some of them may give rise to an inaccurate conception of just what the Government has done in the matter of pay and allowance up to this time. Merely in the interest of a reasonably accurate story, and not for the purpose of argument, I desire to recite very briefly those measures taken by the Congress affecting the soldiers and sailors who were called to the colors during the last war.

"When we went into the war the base pay of the private was \$15 per month. In May or June, 1917—I forget which it was—I think it was May—approximately two months after we entered the war, the Congress legislated on the question of pay, and the base pay of the private was raised to \$30 per month. The impression seems to prevail that \$30 a month was the pay of the soldiers. As a matter of fact, that was but the base pay of the private soldier, and the private's compensation was approximately 40 per cent. of the enlisted strength of the army.

"Prior to the war the base pay of the first class was \$12 per month, that was raised to \$38 per month. The private's first class compensation approximately 25 per cent. of the army. Prior to the war the base pay of the first class was \$21 per month, and that was raised shortly after we entered the war to \$30 per month. The corporals in the aggregate comprised about 5.5 per cent. of the enlisted strength of the army. Prior to the war the duty sergeant received \$30 per month. That was raised to \$38 per month. The duty sergeants and men of similar grade and the enlisted strength comprised about 5.5 per cent.

"The battalion sergeant major prior to our entrance into the war received \$40 a month and during the war that pay was increased to \$45. The regimental sergeant major received \$45 a month prior to the war and that non-commissioned officer's pay was raised to \$51 a month after our entrance into the war. The sergeant first class medical corps received \$50 a month before the war and was raised to \$56 a month. The hospital sergeant received \$45 a month prior to our entrance into the war, and was raised to \$71 a month. The quartermaster sergeant, who ranked among the highest paid grades and is typical of the highest grade as a grade, received \$75 a month prior to our entrance into the war, and was raised to \$81.

"It will be seen, therefore, that the private and private first class and the corporals received by far the greater increase, measured by percentage of their former pay. It will be seen also that the new statement that \$30 a month was the pay of the soldier was grossly inaccurate, for more than 50 per cent. of them got a great deal more than \$30, and every soldier who went abroad got a 20 per cent. increase in his base pay. So that no soldier served in France for as little as \$30 a month, or anything like it.

Average Cash Pay.

"Exclusive of course, of food and hospital care and clothing, I assume the average cash pay would run close to \$40 and exclusive also of extra allowances, such as are given for marksmanship, \$2 a month; sharpshooter, \$3 a month; expert rifleman, \$5 a month, and corresponding experts in other branches of the service which are not armed with the rifle but which require proficiency with some other weapon.

"But I am not citing these figures in the sense of an argument, but merely, if I may, to contribute something to a little more accurate conception of just what happened, because the impression has been so often given out that nothing has been done, whereas, as a matter of fact, the base pay of the humble private of the army was raised 100 per cent. at the very beginning. As indicated by Great Britain the so-called pay of the soldiers of the United States was more than three times as much, even though both soldiers were serving in a foreign country under exactly the same conditions so far as that country was concerned. "I do not imagine for a moment that any Senator or any citizen believes that \$30 a month for the private or \$32 a month for the private first class or \$35 a month for the corporal was voted for any other purpose than to give to the soldier a generous allowance of pocket money. Certainly it was never considered possible to compensate him. No such thought ever entered the mind of the Senate at the time, nor has any military legislation affecting pay in time of war been built on the basis of compensation.

"I remember very well the debate which occurred in the Senate at the time we doubled the base pay of privates and made corresponding, although somewhat less, increases in the upward grades of the enlisted force. Canada had established the principle of a dollar a day for her private soldiers and Australia had done something of the same sort.

For Equally Good Treatment.

"The American Congress believed that our men should receive and have for their enjoyment just as much pocket money as the soldiers of any other land. If I am not greatly mistaken, that is why the increase was made and not the complete abolition of it. It was a generous allowance of pocket money

MR. MUNSEY'S STATEMENT ON BONUS READ TO SENATE

Special Dispatch to The New York Herald.

SENATOR WADSWORTH (Rep., N. Y.) began his speech in opposition to the bonus bill (attacked by having read to the Senate the statement of Mr. Munsey which was printed in The New York Herald this morning. In doing so Senator Wadsworth said:

"As a preliminary to an inadequate discussion of the provisions of that bill I desire to say just a passing word concerning a certain gentleman, a constituent of mine, who has taken a leading part in opposing the bonus bill. I refer to Mr. Frank A. Munsey of New York, the publisher of The New York Herald and The Sun. Senators probably are familiar with his efforts in opposing this legislation. I shall not recite them.

"So happens, however, that this gentleman has been subjected to bitter attacks. His motives and his character have been traduced to such an extent, were it to become general with respect to any person who had courage enough to stand by his convictions, I fear that grave harm would be done to the body politic generally.

Mr. Munsey has replied to his critics. He has done it over his own signature and published it on the front page of his paper. I think it only due to him that at this time and in this place the statement published by him be made a matter of record.

There was no objection to Senator Wadsworth's request and Mr. Munsey's statement was ordered printed in the Congressional Record.

which the Government incurred in the treatment of the soldiers, and can scarcely be deducted from the pay of the soldiers as a permanent basis upon which to write the bonus legislation.

"Had a bonus bill been introduced and passed at the close of the last war, I doubt if this nation could have borne the burden imposed upon it by any such practice as that. We staggered for years under the national debt of something like \$2,000,000,000 from the civil war. Suppose the veterans of the civil war, who numbered 2,000,000—a much larger army in proportion to our population of that day than the army we had in the war with Germany—had demanded a bonus and it had been given them, such as this, could the American people have borne it?

"Effect Upon Expansion. "Could the great West have been opened up with such alacrity? Could our people under a burden such as that would have entailed have spread across the prairies and the mountains and built up a great nation? I doubt it. That would have been a fearful burden imposed upon the 20,000,000 or 25,000,000 of people. It would have more than doubled our national debt, at that time, and it took us fifty years to whittle down the national debt left from the civil war to a point where we could say that it no longer existed."

Mr. Wadsworth then supposed the Senator remembered that in the seventies Congress passed an act somewhat similar to this, which was vetoed by the President. Mr. Wadsworth said: "President Grant vetoed a bill closely resembling this, and the attempt was never made to pass such a bill again applicable to veterans of the civil war, and certainly no suggestion arose from the veterans of the Spanish war."

"Mr. President, last Friday afternoon I listened with great interest to a colloquy here in the Senate between four or five Senators discussing the difficulties that are confronting the American people to-day. They discussed the coal strike and the suffering which may ensue, and they talked of the fact that some people are striking that it was a certainty—overtake the people of our great communities as the result of the lack of coal and the lack of railroad transportation.

What Average Citizen Faces.

"We can sit here in this Senate chamber and discuss these things in an academic way, but they are mighty real things when you go out among the people and when the average citizen is faced with the certainty, almost, of going down into his pocket deeper than ever, not only to pay taxes but to pay his living expenses. In the face of this industrial emergency that faces us it is not a very cheering thought which comes into his mind that at the very moment when he is wondering how the people are going to keep their houses and run their industries and keep their employment, the notice has already gone out from Detroit that 105,000 men in the Ford plants may have to stop work in ten days—it is not a very cheering thought that will come into those people's minds. This country is in a very bad way. Congress passes a bill burdening the American people with at least three and a half billions more in taxation.

"There will come a time, Mr. President, when the people cannot bear any more burdens. What political party would have the courage or the rashness to-day to introduce a revenue bill here raising the taxes of the people? Neither of them. This bill attempts to get away from that. It is an effort, almost laughable in its futility, to persuade people that money can be raised without imposing taxes—an utter impossibility.

"The Senator from North Dakota (Mr. McCumber) says it will cost but \$78,000,000 in the first year. The Secretary of the Treasury points out that we have a \$400,000,000 deficit facing us this first year, and the latest information that instead of \$400,000,000 it will be \$500,000,000 deficit, and lightly does the Senator from North Dakota suggest that we add another \$78,000,000 to that deficit, and that is only to be used in paying the \$50 cash bonus to those men whose so-called adjusted compensation does not exceed \$50.

Another Form of Taxation.

"What relief are we to have as a people? There is none in sight even if we do not pass this bill. We will have to impose heavier taxes or issue bonds. The Senator from North Dakota lightly suggests that we suspend the good roads work over the country and lightly does he suggest that we suspend the so-called adjusted compensation. That is simply another way of taxing the people—depriving them of the facilities for doing business—that is all.

"What does business amount to when brought down to its essence? It is the many that pay, not the few. Political charlatans will invent or pretend to invent methods and pieces of legislation for imposing taxes in such a way that the few only will pay. Point me to a single taxation policy evolved by any government in the history of governments that have succeeded in imposing taxes in such a way that the few only bear the burden."

Not Forced to Subscribe.

Mr. Wadsworth: "Mr. President, I do not think it can be said that the men were compelled to subscribe for Liberty Bonds. I think it unfortunate that such elaborate canvasses were made in the different regiments and brigades. In one particular camp I took occasion to protest against it.

"Yet it is fair to say that while their subscriptions were generous and perhaps in some instances too generous, they were subscribing for something of value, and they were not alone in having to sacrifice Liberty Bonds at a price lower than par. Four million of people had to do that in the year or two following the war.

"Thank heaven, Liberty Loan Bonds are now selling at par and any man who subscribed to these bonds, whether he be ex-soldier or ex-sailor or mere civilian, will get all his money back with interest. That scarcely can be counted in as part of any obligation financially

which the Government incurred in the treatment of the soldiers, and can scarcely be deducted from the pay of the soldiers as a permanent basis upon which to write the bonus legislation.

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Allowance for Dependents.

"My recollection is that the allowance was so much for a dependent wife and I think \$5 for every dependent child up to a certain maximum, that it was \$15 for a wife and \$5 for each child up to an aggregate of \$25 or perhaps \$30. I never liked that. I criticized it several times previously when

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"There will come a time, Mr. President, when the people cannot bear any more burdens. What political party would have the courage or the rashness to-day to introduce a revenue bill here raising the taxes of the people? Neither of them. This bill attempts to get away from that. It is an effort, almost laughable in its futility, to persuade people that money can be raised without imposing taxes—an utter impossibility.

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made by the rich corporation or individual alone.

"My contention is that it is made by the rich man or the rich corporation in the first instance, and then inevitably in whole or in part, depending upon market conditions, it percolates down through the body politic and rests its heavy hand directly or indirectly upon every man, woman and child in the country. If you impose taxes such as these in the hope that they will be paid by one selective group alone you will encounter the proof of the same fallacy which has existed and has been shown time and time again. Prices will be raised to the consumer in order to pay the taxes. It has always done so."

Mr. Hitchcock: "The Senator's argument is quite familiar, and it is a very entrancing theory, but the fact was that those who brought influence to bear upon the Congress to lay aside that \$450,000,000 of excess profits tax were the corporations that were paying the taxes and the fact is that when we repealed that tax we lost that revenue. Now, I know it is a beautiful theory, and they added to that theory by saying that if you repealed the excess profits tax you would improve business, but business has not improved. This is going to be the most disastrous year for business that this country has had, perhaps in its history."

Mr. Wadsworth: "Then this is a beautiful time to incur another national debt of five billion dollars."

Mr. Hitchcock: "And the theory that you could improve business by relieving the highly profitable corporations of \$450,000,000 of excess profit taxes has been proved wrong. This country is going to have the greatest number of

commercial failures that it has ever had in its history."

Mr. Wadsworth: "Therefore, Mr. President, tax them more, according to the Senator."

"Money does not drop from the sky and you do not pick it up on the street more than once in succession. Money is earned in the sweat of men and women who work for a living, and they are the people who pay taxes, men and women who work in all the various strata of life. The drones are but an infinitesimal section of the American people. The overwhelming portion of them work hard day after day, providing, producing, and it is from the producers only that you can raise billions of dollars in taxes."

"When you have taken away the surplus over and above their needs to sustain themselves and their families, when you have taken away that surplus you begin to grind them down, down, down, and there is no more heinous crime that can be committed by our Government than to impose an impossible burden of taxation upon its people."

Revolution starts there. Trace the histories of the revolutions of the past, and away down underneath nearly every one of them lies that otherwise uninteresting topic of dollars and cents. Taxation without representation accounted for the American revolution. Overburdens taxation by the Bourbons accounted for the French revolution."

"I am not preaching a warning here. I am no such pessimist, but I tell you this question of dollars and cents has become the greatest question that confronts the men and women of America, and I cannot understand for the life of me how any man can arise and blithely suggest at this hour in our history the

adding of from three and a half to seven billion dollars to our national obligations."

"The very men you say will be benefited by it will be the worse to suffer in the long run. They have the forty years to live, as outlined in this bill. Most of us have not. They will have to earn this money back, or their proportion of it, and they will be the greatest earners, and therefore the greatest contributors, among all our people, for the next generation and a half. There is the energy, there is the enterprise, there is the physical and mental strength, and you say to them, 'Here is \$250 or \$300 as adjusted compensation for what you did for your country during the war.'"

"You do not say to them as you should that they will have to work all the harder, that their wives will have to work all the harder, that their sons and daughters, when they grow up, will have to work all the harder, to pay the money back in the form of taxes."

GATHER AT BELLEAU WOOD.

Veterans of the Alsace Visit American Graves.

CHATEAU THIERRY, FRANCE, Aug. 28.—After a general meeting of the Federation of Maimed and the Veterans of the Alsace here yesterday those attending went to the Belleau Wood cemetery to visit the graves of American soldiers killed in the war.

They were received by Marshal Foch and members of his staff and also by a delegation of the American Legion.

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